

Message Text

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 85243 ACTION GENEVA INFO
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HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF ARTICLE BY WILLIAM SAFIRE WHICH
APPEARED NEW YORK TIMES APRIL 14. DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE
FOLLOWS BY SEPTTEL.

BEGIN TEXT.

IN CASE YOU HADN'T HEARD, WORLD WAR II WILL SOON BE COMING
TO ITS OFFICIAL END. THE RUSSIANS WON.

IN HELSINKI AND THEN GENEVA, DELEGATIONS FROM 35 NATIONS
UNCLASSIFIED

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HAVE BEEN MEETING FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS AT THE EUROPEAN
SECURITY CONFERENCE, PREPARING FOR THE GRAND SUMMIT FINALE
THIS SUMMER AT WHICH THE HEADS OF STATE ARE TO GATHER AND
MAKE LEGITIMATE THE SOVIET CONQUEST OF EASTERN EUROPE.

NATURALLY, THE SOVIET UNION HAS LONG BEEN LOOKING FORWARD TO THIS TRIUMPH. TO GET THE CONFERENCE STARTED, IT AGREED IN 1971 TO A FOUR-POWER ARRANGEMENT ON BERLIN, AND IN 1973 TO

EXPLORATORY TALKS ON A MUTUAL REDUCTION OF TROOPS IN EUROPE, WHICH HAVE LED NOWHERE BUT SEEMED HOPEFUL AT THE TIME.

SINCE THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN SALIVATING AT THE CHANCE TO MAKE THEIR IRON CURTAIN A PERMANENT DIVISION OF EUROPE, ONE MIGHT THINK THAT THE US IS EXTRACTING GREAT CONCESSIONS IN RETURN.

BUT ALL THE RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN OFFERING IS "CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES," SUCH AS PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MANEUVERS, WHICH HAVE NO REAL MILITARY MEANING, AND ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION PROJECTS THAT THE SOVIETS NEED MORE THAN WE DO. NO QUID PRO QUO THERE, UNLESS YOU CONSIDER DETENTE AN END IN ITSELF.

THE BRITISH, THE BELGIANS AND THE DUTCH--WITH SOME BELATED INTEREST ON THE PART OF THE US--HAVE BEEN PRESSING FOR FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, PLACING IN THIS BASKET FREEDOM OF CONTACT BETWEEN CREATIVE ARTISTS, SPECIFIC GUARANTEES OF CREDENTIALS FOR JOURNALISTS, THE OPENING OF "READING ROOMS" TO INSURE ACCESS TO FOREIGN PERIODICALS, AND AGREEMENTS TO MAKE AVAILABLE TELEVISION TIME FOR THE AIRING OF OTHER COUNTRIES' DOCUMENTARIES.

THE RUSSIANS ARE TURNING ASIDE DEMANDS FOR SPECIFICS, INSTEAD OFFERING FLABBY LANGUAGE LIKE "NATIONS SHALL ENDEAVOR TO ENCOURAGE" HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH ALREADY EXISTS IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND PERMITS THE COMMUNISTS TO INTERPRET IT ANY WAY THEY CHOOSE.

WHEN THE WEST GERMANS WANTED A PROVISION SAYING THAT BORDER UNCLASSIFIED

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CHANGES COULD BE MADE BY PEACEFUL AGREEMENT IN THE FUTURE --REUNIFICATION IS STILL THEIR GOAL--THE SOVIETS ARTFULLY PUT THAT IN THE "SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF STATES" SECTION OF THE DRAFT DOCUMENT, AND NOT IN THE PART ABOUT THE "INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS" WHERE IT MIGHT HAVE HAD SOME MEANING.

THE US DELEGATION IS DEMORALIZED. SINCE OUR POSITION HAS BEEN TO DENIGRATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WHOLE CONFERENCE, THE US DELEGATION IN GENEVA IS HALF-HEADED BY OUR AMBASSADOR TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WHO HAS HIS HANDS FULL IN PRAGUE; HIS DEPUTY IN GENEVA HAS RETURNED TO WASHINGTON AND NOT BEEN REPLACED, AND THE REST OF THE FRUSTRATED

T STAFF PASSES ALONG
THIS STORY:

WHEN THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE MET IN GENEVA TWO

MONTHS AGO WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO, THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE WAS DISCUSSED AT LENGTH; AFTERWARD, MR. GROMYKO GAVE A DETAILED BRIEFING TO THE SOVIET DELEGATION ON WHAT HAD TRANSPIRED. BUT THE US DELEGATION WAS LEFT IN THE DARK AND HAD TO ASK THEIR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS WHAT HAD GONE ON. THAT CLOSE-TO-THE-VEST TECHNIQUE IS EXACTLY WHATLED US UP THE GARDEN PATH ON THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS.

PRESIDENT FORD, WHO PLANS TO ATTEND A NATO MEETING SOON, DID NOT REFER TO THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE IN HIS STATE OF THE WORLD ADDRESS; PERHAPS HE FELT THAT IGNORING THE PROBLEM--AS HE DID PORTUGAL--WOULD MAKE IT GO AWAY. BUT IF HE IS SERIOUS ABOUT MAKING DETENTE A "TWO-WAY RELATIONSHIP," MR. FORD SHOULD PUT A HIGH PRICE ON ANY LEGITIMIZATION OF SOVIET VICTORIES.

FIRST, NO EUROPEAN SECURITY SUMMIT CONFERENCE SHOULD BE CONVENED UNTILTHE SOVIETS AGREE TO MUCH MORE THAN A TOKEN REDUCTION OF TROOPS IN EUROPE AND A TIMETABLE FOR FUTURE WITHDRAWALS.

NEXT, A SUBJECT WE SHOULD INSIST BE PUT ON THE AGENDA FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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DEBATE IS THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, UNDER WHICH THE SOVIETS CLAIM THE RIGHT TO PUT IN THEIRTANKS TO CRUSH UPRISINGS AGAINST THEIR PUPPET REGIMES. IF THAT IS NOT A MATTER OF CONCERN TO "EUROPEAN SECURITY" AND RELEVANT TO THE "INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS," WHAT IS?

FINALLY, THE SOVIETS SHOULD BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR DEEDS--IN PROVIDING NORTH VIETNAMESE WITH THE MEANS OF VICTORY AND EXTREMIST ARABS WITH HOPES FOR A "FINAL SOLUTION" TO THE ISRAELIS--SPEAK LOUDER THAN ANY PROTESTATIONS OF DETENTE. LINKAGE SHOULD LIVE AGAIN; NO DEAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST, NO DEAL IN EUROPE.

WOULD DEMANDS FOR THESE QUIDS PRO QUO SCUTTLE THE HELSINKI SUMMIT? PERHAPS; AT A TIME WHEN THE SOVIET UNION IS RIDING HIGH AND THE US PRESIDENT IS HELPLESS AGAINST A LARGE GROUP OF WILLFUL MEN IN CONGRESS, A TWO-YEAR POSTPONEMENT OF THE BIGGEST GATHERING OF HEADS OF STATE SINCE QUEEN ELIZABETH'S CORONATION MIGHT NOT BE A BAD IDEA.

THIRTY YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE V-E DAY. AMERICA'S POWER HAS DWINDLED FROM DAYS OF DOMINANCE THROUGH AN ERA OF

PARITY TO A STAGE OF UNCERTAINTY. WHY, AT THIS WORST
MOMENT, ARE WE ALLOWING OURSELVES TO BE DRAWN INTO A SUPER-
SUMMIT AT WHICH THE ONLY PURPOSE IS TO DECLARE THE RUSSIANS
THE VICTORS OF WORLD WAR II? END TEXT. KISSINGER UNQTE
KISSINGER

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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